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ABSTRACT

As part of a larger study, this study provided a critical-interpretive perspective of Whittle Communications' Channel One programming, a microcosm of the growing national trend of commercialism in public schools. Several board meetings held at the East Side Union High School District, San Jose, California, generated the discourse for analysis. A critical discourse analysis of this controversy reveals several dominant assumptions about the role of business in education: business and education should be partners; schools should generate their own profits; commercialism should be used pedagogically; students should be viewed as clients; and educators should function as business leaders. A collective examination of six assumptions reveals tensions and contradictions related to the co-opting of the language of business and that of education. (Contains 30 references and 5 notes. An appendix illustrates the underlying tensions between education and business.) (Author/RS)

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# Commercialism in the Classroom:
# The Controversial Partnership of Education and Business

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**Abstract**

**Commercialism in the Classroom:**
**The Controversial Partnership of Education and Business**

As part of a larger study, this paper provides a critical-interpretive perspective of Whittle Communications' Channel One programming, a microcosm of the growing national trend of commercialism in public schools. A critical discourse analysis of this controversy reveals several dominant assumptions about the role of business in education: Business and education should be partners; schools should generate their own profits; commercialism should be used pedagogically; students should be viewed as clients; and educators should function as business leaders. A collective examination of six assumptions reveals tensions and contradictions related to the co-opting of the language of business and that of education.

**Introduction**

Commercialism in public schools has been routinely accepted for many years, according to a 1991 Report of the Washington Office of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. It pervades the United States school systems via cafeterias, magazines, newspapers, political posters, public service messages, vending machines, bulletin boards, and yearbooks (Chase, 1989; Supovitz, 1991). For example, McDonald's provides concessions in school cafeterias. Soft drink companies place vending machines in locker rooms. Honda provides motorcycles to automotive shop classes. Coca-Cola displays ads on athletic scoreboards. However, of more recent and greater concern, is the commercialism existing within the four walls of the classroom. Corporations enter schools with sponsored messages and what they call "learning tools." McDonald's, Chef Boyardee, Nutrasweet, Polaroid, and Proctor and Gamble are all companies that provide "freebies" in the form of magazines, posters, or product samples. The producers of Reynold's Wrap, Bird's Eye frozen vegetables, Promise margarine, and Baker's chocolate also distribute classroom posters advertising their products. Recently, a Colorado school district was granted permission by the State Board of Education to put ads for Pepsi and Buick on district property. The district became the first in the nation to use advertising revenue from a community task force called Revenue Enhancement Through Advertising to buy books, lab equipment, and other supplies not provided by the city. A district spokesperson stated, "If we were not so short of money, we wouldn't have to do stuff like this. We'll consider anything" (Stay in school, 1992, p. 14). The aforementioned examples signal a growing national trend in funding public education. Due to widespread financial problems, many school districts are relying more heavily upon private businesses for financial support. Educators face the dilemma of selling classroom time to sponsors in exchange for "educational" materials that are not necessarily defined as such according to state curriculum guidelines.

One of the most recent controversial cases of commercialism in public schools is Whittle Communications' Channel One programming, consisting of ten-minutes of current events programming interspersed with two minutes of commercial advertising. This paper examines Channel One as a microcosm of the pervasiveness of commercialism in education. As part of a larger study, this paper questions how the partnership between education and business manifests itself through multiple layers of community discourse about Channel One in the classroom. A brief synopsis of the Channel One controversy is followed by an outline of the

critical-interpretive research framework employed in the larger study. The paper then discusses the major tensions and contradictions implied by the discourse and how the emergent assumptions about business and education are set up in relation to one another.

**The Channel One Controversy**

In 1989, Whittle Communications offered the nation's schools Channel One programming as a solution to high drop-out rates, low test scores, and limited funds. The fast-paced program features two minutes of commercials for such products as Levi's jeans, Nike athletic shoes, Snickers candy bars, and Burger King fast food (cf. Hollenbert, 1989). Advertising revenue provides the funding for the necessary equipment (e. g., television, VCR, satellite dish). The contract between Whittle Communications and each school district stipulates that in exchange for the equipment and services provided "at no cost," school administrators will ensure than all students watch Channel One at least ninety-two percent of the time.[1] As long as the district fulfills all contractual obligations, the schools may keep the equipment.

The increased number of school districts contracting with Whittle Communications for services and equipment has brought attention to the increased interaction among education and business in the United States. Attention has shifted to these unique "partnerships" that allow commercialism in the classroom in exchange for technology (cf. Wartella, 1994), yet it is unclear how these relationships actually constitute partnerships (Reich, 1992). After all, the term *partner* usually refers to people working together towards a common goal; schools and businesses clearly have different goals. What makes this education-business relationship unique is the "donation" of programming and technology to schools, many of which cannot afford equipment otherwise. As a result, public schools have become more dependent upon the patronage of private businesses.

There exists both opposition and praise in response to Whittle's "partnership" with schools. For example, there are those who argue that the equipment received from businesses is well worth requiring the students to watch the commercial advertising. Proponents of Channel One believe that two minutes of commercial advertising is a small price to pay for the valuable information and state-of-the-art technology that schools receive "for free." On the other hand,

[1]Originally, the three-year contract included a mandatory viewing clause. The contract also placed restrictions on the use of the equipment for other purposes (Washington Office of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1991). These stipulations have since been removed.

there are those who believe commercialism in the classroom is too high a price to pay for mere equipment. These opponents view the two minutes of commercials interspersed throughout the ten minutes of current events as part of a sales transaction in that advertisers purchase public classroom time, which in turn transforms students into a captive consumer audience. Since students are required by state law to attend school, requiring them to watch commercial advertising is considered an infringement upon their civil rights. Critics of Channel One further castigate educators and administrators for "selling" students to multi-billion dollar corporations in exchange for equipment (California Teachers Association, 1992; DePalma, 1992; Fitzgerald, 1992; Ruling near, 1992). Opponents also argue that the metaphor of the classroom as a marketplace should apply exclusively to ideas and not to commercial products (American Association of School Administrators, 1990). Critics view Channel One as exploitation of the public school system and using education as a sales gimmick for a business venture.

Whittle is criticized for profiting millions from Channel One and failing to donate or circulate these funds back in to the educational system.[2] Furthermore, opponents contest Whittle's offer of programming and technology as a "donation" to schools, instead calling it "economic blackmail" (cf. Endres, Endres, & Miles, 1991, p. 3). They argue that Whittle is dangling the proverbial carrot in front of school districts hungry for technology yet virtually bankrupt. Although critics oppose the idea of selling products in the classroom, they argue that the products themselves are "less pernicious than [Whittle's] non-commercial products: an attitude, a set of values, a body of political beliefs" (Kozol, 1992, p. 277).[3] The controversy has reached mythic proportions, having been compared to the deep-rooted historical struggles of prostitution and slavery (Herrera, 1993a). The partnership with Whittle has also been characterized as a "Faustian bargain" (Rist, 1989, p. 21) in which schools "sell their souls" for new technological capability (Molnar, 1992, p. 7). Critics also point out the imbalance of power not only between education and business (capitalism), but also the inequality that is created and sustained among citizens according to age, race, ethnic background, and socio-economic status.

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[2]In 1991, a thirty-second commercial spot was selling for approximately one hundred twenty thousand dollars (Barry, 1991). In 1993, a thirty-second commercial spot sold for approximately one hundred seventy thousand dollars.

[3]In 1992, at the height of the controversy, opponents launched a boycott of products advertised on Channel One. PepsiCo, Proctor & Gamble, Burger King, Gillette, Gatorade, and M&M Mars all continued to advertise on Channel One despite the boycott (Donaton, 1992).

Some critics say the use of Channel One excludes many voices and perspectives that are vital to upholding a democracy:

> The commercialization of the culture—and increasingly perhaps of the schools—means that other voices and interest, less able to generate profits, are being shut out of the educational system. It seems inevitable that Channel One will further entrench and legitimize the power of massive private commercial interest in those public arenas where a diversity of voices is most badly needed. (Morgan, 1993, p. 10)

School districts across the United States are divided in their views of Channel One. Some see the program as representing a mutually beneficial partnership between business and education, providing schools with valuable learning tools (in the form of free technology) and a quality current events curriculum while providing businesses with consumers and prospective employees. Others are more skeptical of Channel One and view it as intrusive and exploitative of the corporate culture in the United States. These conflicting interpretations exemplify one of several tensions that emerge from the national discourse on Channel One in the classroom.

The foregoing points are suggestive of the moral, ethical, and legal questions regarding commercial television in the classroom that have surfaced as a result of Channel One programming (Miller, 1990). As a microcosm of the larger controversy, the East Side Union High School District in San Jose, California served as the site for this study of the Channel One controversy. The district's W. C. Overfelt High School is the first public school in California to sign a three-year contract with Whittle Communications.[4] Since that time, the East Side community has been struggling with the use of Channel One in the classroom. The fundamental question asked by most educators up to this point is: Should Channel One be allowed in public school classrooms? As one can see from a surface glance at this controversy, tensions exist on a variety of levels (e. g., political, social, economic) and within multiple arenas (e. g., administrative, instructional, parental). The underlying question that guides this study is: What does the discourse about Channel One reveal about the partnership between education and business? As the following section explains, exploring the use of language is central to understanding the implications of commercialism in the classroom.

**A Critical-Interpretive Research Framework**

The speech communication discipline emphasizes the importance of language and social interaction in determining a community's roles and norms. In addition, since humans are

[4]Overfelt high school is a magnet school in Advertising and Marketing, and Mega-Tech.

continuously negotiating their identities according to the surrounding environment, relying upon cultural and contextual clues (Geertz, 1973), our way of thinking is therefore inextricably linked to our way of speaking. Language then becomes more than just a vehicle for transmitting messages; embedded within our language are elements of a particular world view (Gramsci, 1971). It is through this everyday manipulation of language that we as humans negotiate our individual identities and navigate through our surrounding environment. This study of commercialism in the classroom is based on an interpretive view of knowledge, viewing reality as existing in a never-ending state of interpretation and reinterpretation—an "ongoing conversation" (Doll, 1993). In essence, language serves a dual purpose; not only is it the means by which we communicate shared knowledge, but it is also the means by which that knowledge is shaped and transformed (Whorf, 1956). According to this view, humans not only make use of language, but language also makes use of us (Gadamer, 1975). Therefore, the language we use to talk about the concepts of education, business, and technology reveals our ideological as well as epistemological beliefs. Engaging in dialogue about these concepts reinforces, shapes, and even transforms our underlying assumptions about these concepts.

Although the interpretive view itself provides a meaningful way to look at the active role humans occupy in the creation of knowledge, viewing humans as merely actors is not enough. To provide a closer examination of the questions related to the purpose and meaning of business in education, an interpretive view is infused with a critical perspective, which is based on the idea that in order to get at the underlying purpose and meaning of our actions, humans must be viewed as social critics. Based on the work of critical theorists, this inquiry is grounded in the assumption that humans are engaged in a constant struggle against oppression. Of particular interest are the influence of economic, social, and political institutions upon the formation of knowledge, and the power struggles that occur among societal structures. For example, knowledge is viewed not as a value-free process of acquiring information, but rather as a social creation used by those in authority for the purpose of empowering and disempowering people (Brummett & Duncan, 1992). The task of this particular discourse analysis of the Channel One controvery is to unveil those aspects of social institutions (e. g., education) that are portrayed on the surface as rather innocent and unproblematic (e. g., commercialism). To accomplish this task, this study employs the method of critical discourse analysis (CDA) (van Dijk, 1993).

**Conducting the Study**

Several board meetings held at the East Side Union High School District offices generated the discourse for analysis. The meeting occurred approximately three years after the initial 1990 debut of Channel One in the Classroom. The eight-member Board of Trustees and members of the East Side community negotiated the fate of Channel One at Overfelt High School for more than three hours, during which they discussed a document titled, Channel One Resolution, that was drafted and proposed for adoption by a member of the Board of Trustees.[5] A written text was generated from an audio-taped version of one of the meetings. To help get at the deeper layers of meaning within the discourse, I posed three research questions:

**$RQ_1$**: What are the distinctive features of the discourse on Channel One?

**$RQ_2$**: What do these discursive features reveal about the dominant assumptions related to education and business?

**$RQ_3$**: What are the major tensions and contradictions implied by this discourse and how are they set up in relation to one another?

The analysis consists of three phases, represented by each of the aforementioned questions. Phase one consists of textual description and provides the building blocks for the subsequent phases of analysis. The first phase involved deconstructing the text, thus reducing the discourse to sentence fragments, phrases, and words. I then categorized these data according to discursive feature (e. g., theme, metaphor, grammatical opposition). Once I had these three categories, I then made the interpretive move to the second phase of analysis, searching for dominant assumptions about education and business. Drawing from the pool of discursive features, I constructed a set of propositional statements reflecting the dominant assumptions of the East Side community. The move to the critical phase of analysis consisted of examining the logical order and unstated links between ideas. This third phase involved gathering the propositional statements generated in phase two and rebuilding the discourse, seeing the assumptions in relation to one another and noting the tensions and contractions. The remainder of this article illustrates these three phases of the critical discourse analysis.

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[5] In addition to audio-taping the meeting, I took extensive notes during the live speech event. Audio tapes, written transcripts, and field notes are available for listening and viewing.

**The Distinctive Features of the Discourse**

Several themes emerged related to business and education. For example, the relationship between business and education is spoken about in terms of a *partnership*, the students are referred to as *clients*, and the results of the business-education partnership is *profit*.

The relationship between business persons and educators is similar to that of co-workers:

> [Channel One] is a classical *partnership*....one that the private sector put out almost one hundred percent investment at no cost to the district.
>
> We welcome [KLIV Radio] as a *partner* in education.
>
> I would ask us to open up our minds to how *we work with* the private sector.

In addition, the student is frequently referred to as the *client* of the educator. Whereas the term *customer* is frequently used in the business world to denote a relationship between supplier and consumer, consisting primarily of a short term economical exchange of goods or services, the use of the term *client* refers to an ongoing relationship between educator (or administrator) and the student being served:

> TV in the classroom is not my idea of a sound way to improve the academic and social development of our *clients*.
>
> I cannot sit here and say that I can agree with giving up any form of educational time to something that is not going to help our *clients*.
>
> So [The Channel One Resolution] is student driven. It's *student-as-the-client* driven.

A major motive for serving one's client is to make a profit. The East Side community discourse reveals a profit theme in the sense of a (financial) gain from a business deal. The speakers also use this term in the form of *profiteering*, which denotes the taking of an unreasonably large profit:

> I would like to have us *profit* by our own advertising.
>
> Inevitably we will get to the point where we get to keep the equipment and to increase the value of the equipment and *increase the revenue* that actually comes to the schools.
>
> Our own kids should *profiteer*.

These emergent themes comprise the first phase of this critical discourse analysis of the Channel One controversy in one community. From the second phase, as outlined in

the next section, six dominant assumptions emerge from an analysis of the discursive features of phase one.

**Dominant Assumptions About Education and Business**

An examination of the discursive features reveal six dominant assumptions about education and business: Education should function like a business; business and education should be partners; schools should generate their own profits; commercialism should be used pedagogically; students should be viewed as clients; and educators should be viewed as business leaders.

The discourse reveals the existence of a business code in education. A board member and former teacher commented on the educational priorities of the district: "Integration of academic skills and occupational competencies must become a serious business on our part." Within the "business" of education, the administrators are the business leaders. The District Superintendent is referred to as "fulfilling his professional responsibilities to this community as your chief executive officer." In addition, the community views educators and administrators in a service role to the students, who are viewed as the clients. During the discussion of Channel One programming and classroom time, one board member replied, "I cannot sit here and say that I can agree with giving up any form of educational time to something that is not going to help our clients." Furthermore, the *Channel One Resolution* was written with the purpose of being "student-as-the-client driven," or acknowledging the needs of the student as a top priority in education.

Another assumption revealed by the East Side community discourse is that partnerships between business and education are desirable. Both educators and administrators encourage "partnerships" between schools and businesses. At one point during the meeting, a board member referred to the presence of a local radio station and the city's Chamber of Commerce:

> I believe this meeting is being broadcast on KLIV. We are delighted! I think it is a great partnership. We welcome the Chamber. We want to be their partners in education. I hope your presence here tonight indicates that you want some partnership with us.

The desirability of this "partnership" stems from the "private sector [putting] out almost one hundred percent investment at no cost to the district." One member of the Board of Trustees calls the business sector "the goose that lays the golden egg in an era where we are

suffering from inadequate resources." Those who oppose business-education partnerships are asked to "open up [their] minds to how we work with the private sector."

A third assumption is that commercialism in the classroom is a positive thing. A majority of the community members are not opposed to the idea of commercialism. According to their view, commercialism is a natural part of life in the United States. Commercialism is "a part of us....What we eat, what we think, what we wear, what you drive, came about by one ingredient—commercialism." In addition, a former Overfelt student was applauded after passionately stating, "And if we're making a profit off of [commercialism], God bless you. That's our enterprise. That's America." Community members express gratitude for commercialism, because it enables individuals to obtain material goods in their own personal lives as well as in the educational arena. This sentiment fosters a strong desire among community members to use commercialism to their advantage. One teacher suggested that commercialism be used and confined within the district by "[setting] up our own television and collect that money and keep it within the district." Another audience member asserted, "I would like to have us profit by our own advertising." One teacher argued, "Our own kids should profiteer." In essence, this community views commercialism as valuable curriculum and useful pedagogy. One teacher suggested, "Let's teach students that making a profit isn't necessarily a bad thing." Another community member stated that commercialism "could be a very constructive way of teaching our students." She added, "commercialism could be a very, very positive thing. It's becoming a very positive thing right on our campus." The community does not condemn, but rather endorses the pedagogical use of Whittle Communications' marketing strategies.

These six dominant assumptions about education and business comprise the community's discourse about Channel One—and illustrate existing tensions and contradictions about business and education. The dialogical angles at which these assumptions are set up against one another provide valuable insight into the Channel One controversy as well as the larger controversy of business and education.

**Tensions and Contradictions Within the Discourse About Channel One**

The discourse suggests a dialectical relationship between education and business (see Appendix A). As previously illustrated, a business code exists within the East Side community. Business is looked upon as a model for education. Like many schools today, this community has formed a "partnership" with business. However, the term *partnership* is misleading in this

context. The term implies that both members cooperate and have joint rights and responsibilities. A closer look at the partnership between Whittle Communications and the East Side Union High School District reveals inequality between education and business. For example, Whittle is said to provide equipment and programming "free" to Overfelt High School. However, the term *free* is also misleading. The cost of Channel One to educators is requiring students to watch the commercials on Channel One at least ninety percent of the time. One question that arises is: Is this education-business partnership beneficial to both parties? Educators in the East Side community view school partnerships with business as beneficial. In fact, schools desire to follow the example set by businesses by generating their own profits through the production of "educational" programs and supplying their own commercial sponsors. Educators justify the commercialization of schools by arguing the ends justify the means, since the money stays within the district. Yet by generating their own profits, educators and administrators are directly violating their partnership with Whittle Communications, Inc. Education then becomes a competitor—rather than a partner—of business.

The East Side community believes that commercialism should be used as a teaching methodology. This belief is based on the assumption that since commercialism is the foundation of the United States (e. g., capitalism), students should therefore learn to use it to their advantage—following the example set by Whittle Communications. Yet the term *commercialism* has a negative connotation, emphasizing profit and not necessarily quality or morality. The East Side community views teaching students how to make a profit as a positive thing. Yet members of the community also express the belief that the classroom should not be a marketplace for commercial interests. A tension exists in that commercialism is a positive thing if it is used within the educational arena and students are learning something from it. However, when an outside source profits at the expense of education, commercialism is a negative thing. What are students learning from this pedagogy of commercialism? One message created teaches students to assess worthwhile causes according to how they personally benefit. Students learn that to be successful in society, they must compete with others. A sense of competition may drive some students to do their best and become actively involved. However, too much competition may stunt the intellectual growth of a student and prevent him or her from developing the sense of community and concern for the common good—both of which are vital to upholding a democracy. Ultimately, educators have the responsibility to

ask the questions: Is that which is good for business also good for education? Are students learning that the best method of accomplishment is that which "makes a buck" or puts the individual ahead of everyone else in society? Should the educational value of curriculum be determined according to the amount of money generated and the amount of technology supplied in the classroom? Although a business metaphor may be useful in examining some aspects of the schooling process, serious implications arise when the business metaphor is extended to the teaching and learning processes.

Additional tensions arise with the informal business code in the discourse of the East Side community. Members view schools as places where educators are business leaders and students are clients. The concept of a student clientele signifies an ongoing relationship (as compared to a short-term relationship of a mere customer) and the emphasis is on the individual needs of that particular client. This harmonizes with other educational goals of the community, such as tailoring education to a culturally diverse student population, for example. However, the term *client* also refers to a person that relies on the professional services or advice of another. This dependency of the student-client upon the educator-business leader is potentially problematic in the sense that in the business world, the decisions ultimately rest on what will be most financially profitable for the company. Therefore, the needs of the individual client are at best secondary to economic concerns. The client indirectly competes with external factors that are out of his or her control (i. e., profit making, budgetary concerns, political wars). Furthermore, the student-as-client relationship implies that client satisfaction, rather than curriculum or pedagogy, is top priority. This "give the public what it wants" philosophy changes the nature of the schooling process to one of student gratification, rather than student development of intellectual understanding. These discursive tensions and contradictions indicate a need for educators and administrators to re-examine the language they use to talk about the goals and purpose of education.

In summary, managing schools as businesses may be beneficial in terms of cost-efficiency, especially during a time when there are limited resources available to educators. However, despite the fact that education and business share similar concerns, tensions surface when "education as business" is taken as more than just a metaphor. Terms that educators borrow from the business world, such as *partnership*, *commercialism*, and *profiteer*, have lost their original meaning in the context of business. This co-opting of terms is potentially harmful in

that the purpose of educational institutions shifts from one of developing students' knowledge to one of making a profit. Essentially, the institutions of education and business have blurred together. The result is an ideal "education for profit" that poses serious implications, especially when a parent asserts, "our own kids should profiteer." Granted, it is unlikely the parent intended that students should make an unreasonable profit at the expense of others in need (as the traditional meaning of the word suggests) but rather meant that schools have the potential for self-sufficiency—less reliance upon private businesses for technological and financial needs. However, the potential for increased technological and financial autonomy contradicts an earlier assumption that business and education should be partners. As a result, educators and administrators break the rules of a partnership. Ultimately, the potential problems arise from the lack of clear educational goals, responsibilities, and rewards within the context of a business partnership. Educators, administrators, and parents need to examine more closely the meanings beyond the language used to describe the goals and purposes of schools, curriculum, and the learning process.

**Summary and Reflection**

As education rapidly approaches the twenty-first century, new ideas of how to teach students continue to emerge as educators hire non-educators (private firms) to operate public schools. Instead of those in the field of education leading students down the paths to knowledge, managers and financial experts lead students down the aisles of supermarkets, in what one school board official calls "a new look at how we are delivering services to kids" (Jordan, 1993, p. 5). An education is viewed as more than something to obtain; education has become both a commercial product and a product of commercialism. Commercialism has now become both the curriculum and the pedagogy in education. As a result, students have books, lab equipment, and state-of-the-art technologies; but at the same time, they are learning the values associated with commercialism, materialism, and competition.

The language used to talk about education is co-opted by those in the fields of business and education. The words have become distorted such that the meaning of the words *partnership, profiteering,* and *commercialism* are unclear even to those who use these words. Such distortion makes it difficult to address important issues and controversies related to business and education. This study suggests that educational leaders discuss separately the concerns of the East Side Union High School District and Whittle Communications, Inc. In

addition, educators might examine more closely their relationships with business, especially since school administrators now more than ever are turning to the business sector for financial support.

As communication scholars, not only are we required to understand language, but also to understand how language works within specific symbolic environments. The language used to discuss Channel One programming suggests the need for more research in the area of commercialism in the classroom. For example, survey research might question the meaning of the words *commercialism* and *profiteering* according to educators. In addition, scholars might conduct both face-to-face and focus group interviews in a variety of educational contexts with business involvement. Not only will such questions provide insight into the use of language to construct our views of education, but it would also provide additional information on the potential effects of commercialism in the classroom. In the meantime, the full effects of the education and business "partnership" remain to be seen.

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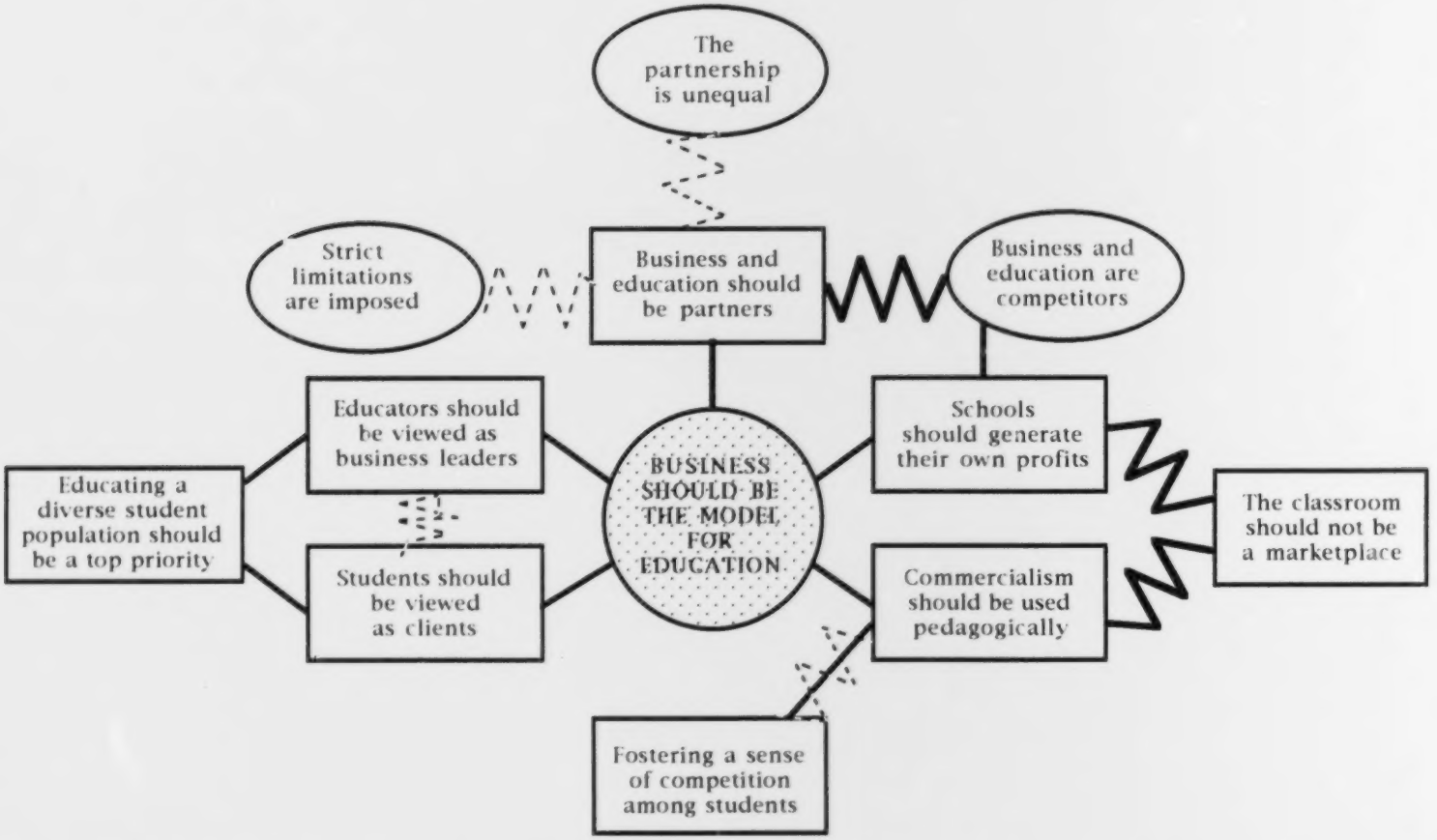
**Appendix A**
**The Underlying Tensions Between Education and Business[1]**


The partnership is unequal
Strict limitations are imposed
Business and education should be partners
Business and education are competitors
Educators should be viewed as business leaders
Educating a diverse student population should be a top priority
BUSINESS SHOULD BE THE MODEL FOR EDUCATION
Schools should generate their own profits
The classroom should not be a marketplace
Students should be viewed as clients
Commercialism should be used pedagogically
Fostering a sense of competition among students

[1]The shaded circle represents the main assumption central to the discussion. The ovals indicate distinctive features that emerged from the discourse during the first phase of analysis. The rectangles represent dominant assumptions derived from an analysis of the discursive features comprising phase two of the analysis. A solid line indicates a positive or non-problematic relationship. A solid zig-zag line indicates a contradictory relationship, and a broken zig-zag indicates a potentially problematic relationship.